

## EXHIBIT A

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REAL NEWS ABOUT FAKE NEWS



## People who are delusional, dogmatic, or religious fundamentalists are more likely to believe fake news

Plus: "Women over 65 years write very rude things on the internet."

By **LAURA HAZARD OWEN** @laurahazardowen May 4, 2018, 8:58 a.m.

The growing stream of reporting on and data about fake news, misinformation, partisan content, and news literacy is hard to keep up with. This [weekly roundup](#) offers the highlights of what you might have missed.

**People prone to psychosis are also more likely to believe fake news.** Is there a certain kind of person who is more likely to believe fake news? Yes: "Belief in fake news was associated with increased endorsement of delusion-like ideation," according to a [working paper](#) from Yale's [Michael Bronstein](#), [Gordon Pennycook](#), Adam Bear, Tyrone Cannon, and David Rand, presented at the recent



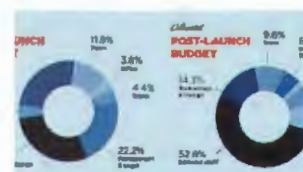
**Yes, it's worth arguing with science deniers — and here are some techniques you can use**

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CHRISTINE SCHMIDT



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**People prone to psychosis are also more likely to believe fake news.** Is there a certain kind of person who is more likely to believe fake news? Yes: “Belief in fake news was associated with increased endorsement of delusion-like ideation,” according to a working paper from Yale’s Michael Bronstein, Gordon Pennycook, Adam Bear, Tyrone Cannon, and David Rand, presented at the recent Schizophrenia International Research Conference.

From the paper:

Two studies with over 1,000 participants suggested that individuals who endorse delusion-like ideas (e.g., thinking that people can communicate telepathically), as well as dogmatic individuals and religious fundamentalists, are more likely to believe fake news.

These studies also suggested that two related forms of thinking may protect against belief in fake news: The first, actively open-minded thinking, involves the search for alternative explanations and the use of evidence to revise beliefs. The second, analytic thinking, involves deliberate thought processes that consume memory resources.

Reduced engagement in these forms of thinking partially explained the increased belief in fake news among individuals who endorsed delusion-like ideas, and fully explained increased belief in fake news among dogmatic individuals and religious fundamentalists. These results imply that existing interventions designed to increase actively open-minded and analytic thinking might be leveraged to help prevent the deleterious effects of belief in fake news.

The researchers used Mechanical Turk to study two groups of 500 people. They were asked to rate the accuracy of 12 fake news headlines as well as a set of real news headlines, and were also tested on four other measures: a shortened version of the actively openminded thinking scale, a measure of dogmatism (“The things I believe in are so completely true, I could never doubt them”), a measure of religious fundamentalism (“The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God”), and the Peters et al. Delusion Inventory (questions like “Do you ever feel as if there is a conspiracy against you?”) And they took the cognitive reflection test. Participants in the second group of people also took two additional tests.

It turns out that people who “endorse delusion-like ideation” are more likely to believe fake news — as are “dogmatic individuals and religious fundamentalists.” “The vulnerability of these individuals to belief in fake news was fully explained by their tendency to engage in less analytic and actively open-minded thinking...” the



**Habit formation: How The Wall Street Journal turned user-level data into a strategy to keep subscribers coming back**

ANNE POWELL, JOHN WILEY, AND PETER GRAY



**TV is still the most common way for Americans to get local news, but fewer people are watching**

LAURA HAZARD OWEN



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It turns out that people who “endorse delusion-like ideation” are more likely to believe fake news — as are “dogmatic individuals and religious fundamentalists.” “The vulnerability of these individuals to belief in fake news was fully explained by their tendency to engage in less analytic and actively open-minded thinking...” the authors write. “The present studies suggest that delusion-prone and dogmatic individuals, as well as religious fundamentalists, are more likely than others to believe fake news in large part because they exhibit reduced analytic and actively open-minded thinking. This suggestion points to potential interventions that may keep individuals from falling for fake news and lays the groundwork for future fake news research.”

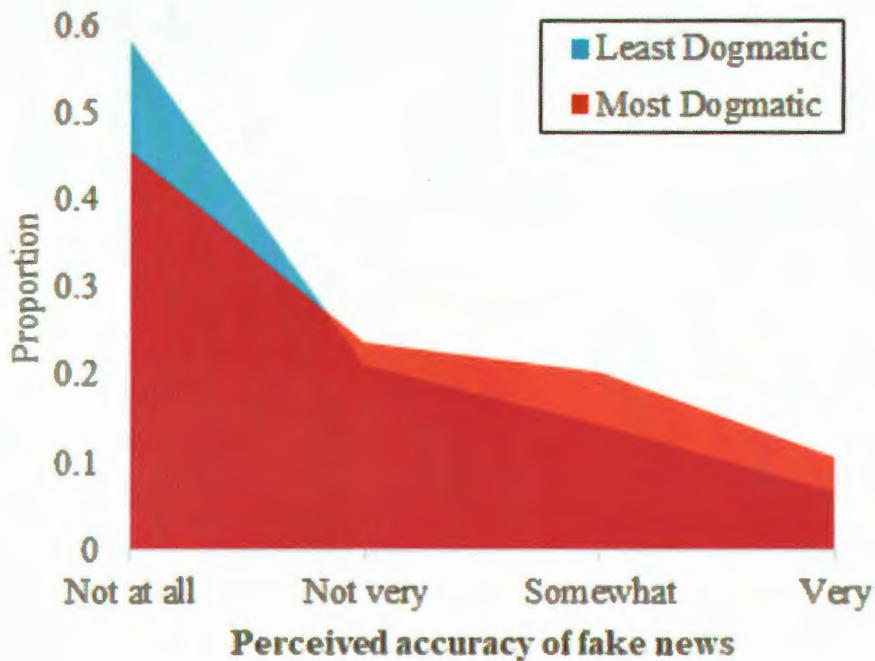
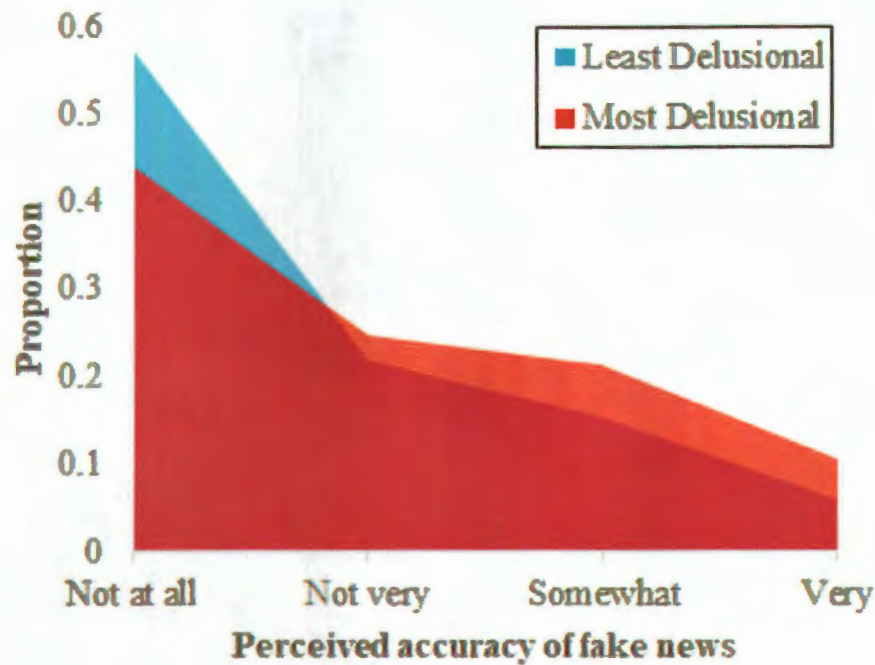
It seems as if this paper could cause a lot of people to...get very angry very fast. I asked Rand to go over the biggest caveats with me — what he thinks people should definitely keep in mind before drawing big conclusions. Here's his email back to me:

**(i) Correlation vs causation** — We definitely can't (and aren't trying) to say that being delusional, dogmatic, or a religious fundamentalist causes you to believe fake news. What we definitely are saying is that these things tend to co-occur. In terms of what causes what, we can't say anything definitive. What we do is provide circumstantial (correlational mediation) evidence that supports a story whereby being less open-minded/reflective leads simultaneously to all of these things — delusional, believing fake news, being dogmatic, and being a religious fundamentalist — and explains some/all of why they are correlated with each other.

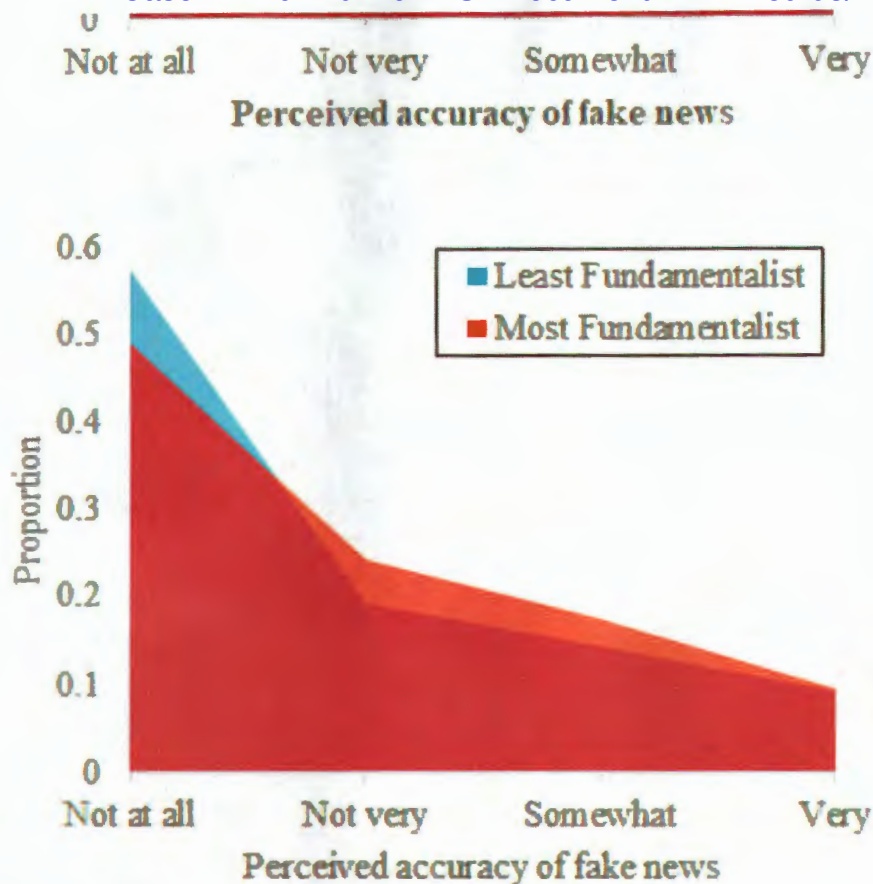
**(ii) The size of the correlations isn't huge.** That is, it's not like “Oh, you scored highly on the delusional scale, so that means you'll believe all fake news headlines” or “oh, you are a religious fundamentalist, so you'll believe all fake news headlines.” But at the same time, the correlations aren't nothing.

To give a sense of the size of these relationships, see these plots which show accuracy ratings of fake news stories among the bottom 20 percent versus top 20 percent of scorers on delusional, dogmatism, and religious fundamentalism. You'll see that (a) even from the most delusional/dogmatic/fundamentalism subjects, a majority of ratings say fake news is inaccurate (i.e., the proportion of ratings which are ‘Not at all accurate’ or ‘not very accurate’ is greater than 0.5 in all cases); but (b) the most delusional subjects are twice as likely as the least delusional subjects to rate fake news stories as Very Accurate (and 50 percent more likely to rate fake news stories as ‘Somewhat accurate’ or ‘Very accurate.’)

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**“Misogyny is both the input and output that keeps the fake news industry afloat.”**

For Refinery 29, Nicola Pardy argues that “the use of women’s imagery in the fake news industry points to a...system of gender-based degradation.” I’m not totally convinced by the stories presented here — I’m not sure misogyny is *worse* in this environment than it is elsewhere, and this story didn’t convince me otherwise — but I am fascinated by how gender and misogyny play into the creation and spread of, and our conversations about, misinformation, and I’d love to see more research into it.

**The Nordic way.** The Nordic Council of Ministers released “Fighting Fakes — The Nordic Way,” a report on what Scandinavian countries can do (building on a meeting in Copenhagen last fall). I was struck by how much gender factors into the report. From the intro, for instance: “In many decades in the Nordic countries, we have developed a system of self-regulation for the media and an environment of trust. However, this system would start to erode if we lower our guard to protect gender, and we need to make sure everyone in our society, especially children and youth, actively can participate in the public debate. Countering social media hate speech, and terror propaganda, and strongly protecting personal data from being illegally used by third parties, is key.”

And this:

gender, and we need to make sure everyone in our society, especially children and youth, actively can participate in the public debate. Countering social media hate speech, and terror propaganda, and strongly protecting personal data from being illegally used by third parties, is key.”

And this:

“Women over 65 years write very rude things on the internet.” This somewhat surprising headline in Svenska Dagbladet was also the conclusion after one year of work by the Swedish network for research on hate on the internet, Nätverket Nätbegränsaren. They too were surprised by this finding. Their best explanation was that these women are the true victims of ‘fake news.’ They are not accustomed to fake journalism-like content, they are not trained in investigating the sources and, they believe in what they read.

The original article is [here](#); from what I can tell after a bunch of Google Translating, it seems that the network, which monitors social media for hate speech and threats, has traced a surprising number of these threats to older women. In 2017, the network “made 770 police reports against about 600 different people. The number of suspected crimes amounts to almost 2,000,” the Swedish newspaper Eskilstuna Kuriren [reported](#). About 15 to 20 percent of the suspected crimes were attributed to women, according to that article.

ILLUSTRATION FROM L.M. GLACKENS' *THE YELLOW PRESS* (1910) VIA [THE PUBLIC DOMAIN REVIEW](#).

PART OF A SERIES [Real News About Fake News](#)

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Name



Mike McCormick · a year ago

Only a complete psychopath could believe anything from cnn , nbc , Young wacked out turks , washing comPost, nygrimes, and all other over the top salacious extreme left “media”.

Reply · Share



**Mike McCormick** · a year ago

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^ | v · Reply · Share ›

**Brett** → Mike McCormick · a year ago

I agree, yet the same goes for fox, and all associated conservative media

^ | v · Reply · Share ›

**Callahan 8.0** · a year ago · edited

They needed a study for this? Any sane person knows the left wing sheep fit all of the above, with socialism being the ultimate dogmatic religion.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›

**Alexander Best** · a year ago · edited

This is embarrassing journalism. Your headline suggests people who have religious views that are perceived as "fundamentalist" are equivalent to people who are "delusional." Your caveats on causation and correlation as the fine print does not elevate the sense that this article is just another illustration of "fake" news. And that is what is so sad about the entire topic. "Serious" Media have chosen the same methodologies of the people they disdain. I expect it from soap opera CNN but Nieman? If you are a lab for the future of journalism, that is really worrying. I appreciate the daily briefings. But this undermines the credibility of what in the inevitable speed of life and glut of data, is often just a fleeting headline. This makes me more likely to delete or unsubscribe. It is not just the poor quality of the journalism it is what it say about the Editor of this section. Eye, ball, off.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



This comment was deleted.

**mffitzgerald** → Guest · a year ago · edited

No one who is religious or say, a my-country-right-or-wrong nationalist or a strict free-market-type will like the headline. The weaknesses with the study (the story notes some of them) might make me argue against a hed like that in a story meeting. But it does reflect the study's premise. Separately, I don't see the insinuations the 2nd writer mentions.

18 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›

**Jj Taler** → Alexander Best · a year ago

I'd like to duplicate this "study". Laura, please post the "real" and "fake" headlines you used to do the analysis along with an abstract of the research methodology. .

^ | v · Reply · Share ›

**You Can't Doxx Me** · a year ago

It's interesting how Joshua Benton is using comments he doesn't like to doxx people.

<http://archive.is/4XGN0>

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›

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"We're living in an age of journalism where people want to help each other and are prioritizing collaboration over competition. We want to seize on that in a way that ensures no matter who is in the newsroom there's still a mechanism for them to use this."

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"This represents five full-time correspondents working in different parts of the world, as well as at least five freelancers each month."

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## Basic Rules for Disqus-powered Sites



Written by Saeed Oday  
Updated over a week ago

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- **Deceitful data collection or distribution**  
User information is for moderation purposes only and collecting any information in a misleading way is prohibited. Distribution of personal identifiable information is prohibited.
- **Intimidation of users of the Disqus Service**  
Blackmail, extortion, extreme discrimination, and other forms of threatening behavior are prohibited.
- **Malware**  
If a site is found to be distributing malware, Disqus will be removed from that site.
- **Unlawful activities**  
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- **Misuse of the Disqus Service**  
Sites that take any action that imposes, or may impose (at our sole discretion) an unreasonable or disproportionately large load on our infrastructure. This includes





until the claim is resolved.

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- **Intimidation of users of the Disqus Service**

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## Basic Rules for Disqus



Written by Disqus

Updated over a week ago

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Hate speech and other forms of targeted and systematic harassment of people have no place on Disqus, nor do we tolerate communities dedicated to fostering harassing behavior.
- [Spam](#)  
Examples include 1) comments posted in large quantities to promote a product or service, 2) the exact same comment posted repeatedly to disrupt a thread. 3) following users multiple times
- [Impersonation](#)  
You may not impersonate others in a manner that does or is intended to mislead, confuse, or deceive others.
- [Direct threat of harm](#)  
This covers active threats of harm directed towards a specific person or defined group of individuals. Contact local authorities if you feel a crime has been committed or is imminent.
- [Posting personally identifiable information](#)  
Examples of protected information: credit card number, home/work address, phone number, email address, social security number. Real name isn't currently covered.
- [Inappropriate profile content](#)  
Graphic media containing violence and pornographic content are not allowed. Profile content allowed by Disqus may not be allowed on all communities, so report such profiles to the site moderator.

To report a user for a Basic Rules violation, click the [flag](#) icon in their profile and



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Examples include 1) comments posted in large quantities to promote a product or service, 2) the exact same comment posted repeatedly to disrupt a thread. 3) following users multiple times
- [Impersonation](#)  
You may not impersonate others in a manner that does or is intended to mislead, confuse, or deceive others.
- [Direct threat of harm](#)  
This covers active threats of harm directed towards a specific person or defined group of individuals. Contact local authorities if you feel a crime has been committed or is imminent.
- [Posting personally identifiable information](#)  
Examples of protected information: credit card number, home/work address, phone number, email address, social security number. Real name isn't currently covered.
- [Inappropriate profile content](#)  
Graphic media containing violence and pornographic content are not allowed. Profile content allowed by Disqus may not be allowed on all communities, so report such profiles to the site moderator.

To report a user for a Basic Rules violation, click the [flag](#) icon in their profile and complete a short report.

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## Effective Date

The effective date of this policy is January 10, 2018.

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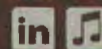
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## EXHIBIT E



**Alexander Best** • a year ago • edited

This is embarrassing journalism. Your headline suggests people who have religious views that are perceived as "fundamentalist" are equivalent to people who are "delusional." Your caveats on causation and correlation as the fine print does not elevate the sense that this article is just another illustration of "fake" news. And that is what is so sad about the entire topic. "Serious" Media have chosen the same methodologies of the people they disdain. I expect it from soap opera CNN but Nieman? If you are a lab for the future of journalism, that is really worrying. I appreciate the daily briefings. But this undermines the credibility of what in the inevitable speed of life and glut of data, is often just a fleeting headline. This makes me more likely to delete or unsubscribe. It is not just the poor quality of the journalism it is what it says about the Editor of this section. Eye, ball, off.

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## EXHIBIT F



**truthseeker** → Alexander Best

5 hours ago



I am a journalism professor at a major east coast university and I completely agree with you. I follow Nieman but this is an article designed to insinuate that 1) Trump supporters who happen to be religious are delusional 2) conservative media that don't tout the democrat party talking points are disseminating 'fake news.' I will no longer use Neiman as a source.

Reply



Twitter has a new Terms of Service and Privacy Policy, effective May 25, 2018. [Learn more](#)

EXHIBIT G

Got it



Home

Joshua Benton  
@jbentonOccasional enemy  
people. I run @n  
Proud Cajun. I lo  
@dashiebbenton

Cambridge, MA

joshuabenton

Joined December



Joshua Benton · @jbenton · May 4

I think that this attitude — permanently rejecting a news source because it accurately reports something you don't like — is exactly what you want in a journalism professor, yes? Also, spell our name right, Francesca Viola of Temple University [niemanlab.org/2018/05/people...](http://niemanlab.org/2018/05/people...)

truthseeker · Alexander Best  
5 hours ago

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Reply

58 19 55



Joshua Benton · @jbenton · May 4

For what it's worth, Temple journalism professor Francesca Viola also believes Seth Rich was murdered by Hillary Clinton and the DNC

Guest · a year ago

hater? I'm a college professor and I don't drink. I watch Hater right about this Seth Rich thing. 'nocrat who doesn't want to face corrupt, and like Hillary will do a wer...even murder.

in discussion

14 4 16



Wrong. Seth Rich leaked the DNC plot to sabotage Bernie Willeaks. The DNC had him killed. This Russia story was manufactured as a distraction. You stupid libs keep pushing the Russian narrative with not one shred of evidence. And don't tell me "19 intelligence agencies say so." But notice they never offer solid factual evidence. But if there's any justice, the truth will come out. Just like we learned eventually that the democrat talking points about the Benghazi murders being caused by an anti-Muslim video were a lie, the democrat attempt to deflect from their corruption and murder saying "the Russians did it" will be proven to be yet another lie. Keep it up Dems. You'll just be losing elections till you cease to exist as a party. I can hart wait

View in discussion



Joshua Benton · @jbenton · May 4

She also believes @DRUDGE\_REPORT has sold out to the libs

Breitbart News Network · 22191 comments

e Leaks Highly Classified Information  
on Post to Smear President

ker · a year ago

reading Drudge anymore. Ever since he links to the lib mainstream media to think there's been a management

View in discussion

4 1 7

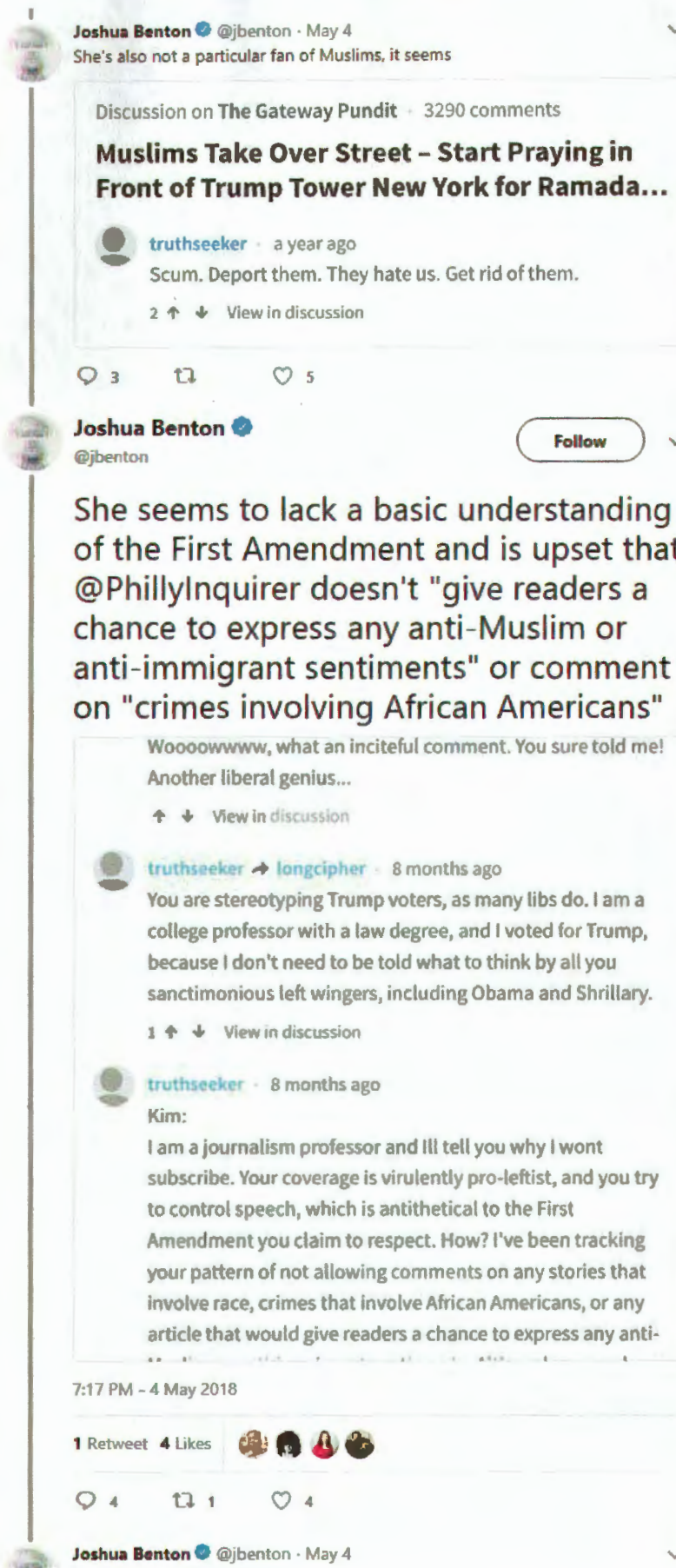
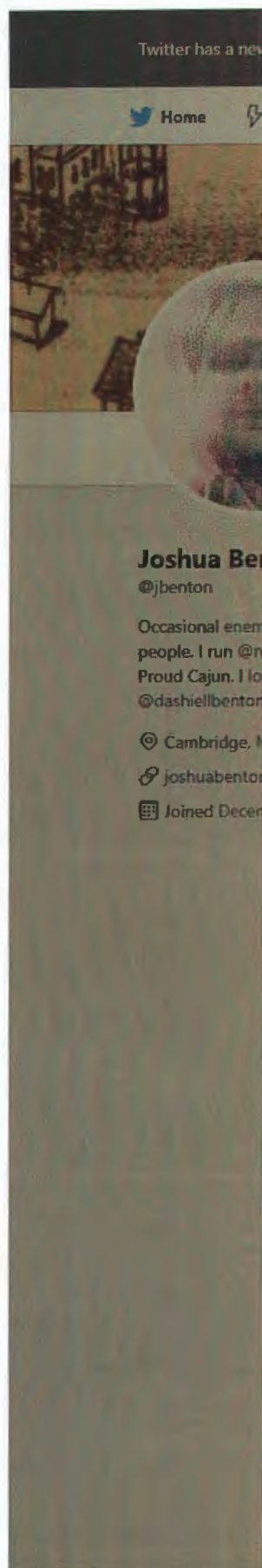


Joshua Benton · @jbenton · May 4

She's also not a particular fan of Muslims, it seems

Discussion on The Gateway Pundit · 3290 comments







to control speech, which is antithetical to the First Amendment you claim to respect. How? I've been tracking your pattern of not allowing comments on any stories that involve race, crimes that involve African Americans, or any article that would give readers a chance to express any anti-

7:17 PM - 4 May 2018

1 Retweet 4 Likes

4 1 4

**Joshua Benton** @jbenton · May 4

Oh, she also believes that Trump actually won the "real" popular vote, which was warped by "some illegal votes cast in California"



**truthseeker** → **LiberalBiatch** · 4 months ago

You have no idea what my religion is and the reason Trump won is because more people voted for him than your girl. And save your breath on the tired refrain that Hillary won the popular vote because of some illegal votes cast in California. Yawn. So thank God people with common sense outnumber people like you.

↑ ↓ View in discussion

5 2

**Joshua Benton** @jbenton · May 4

Basically, Francesca Viola of @TempleUniv is pretty much exactly what you want in a journalism professor. cc: @dlboardman @pilhofer @brcreech

34 9



**mackb** @rmackb · May 5

Replying to @jbenton @PhillyInquirer  
Funny u don't seem to like conservatives speech

1



**Mickey Dugan** @Mickey\_Dugan · May 5

Replying to @jbenton @PhillyInquirer  
This is beginning to feel eerily predatory, like a stalker and a doxxer using tactics from the Spanish Inquisition, and, welll, it's just super-creepy, man.

1



**BEN123L** @BEN123L · May 4

Replying to @jbenton @PhillyInquirer  
reporting you to twitter for doxxing

1

## EXHIBIT H



**Joshua Benton**  @jbenton · 9 May 2018

In a series of tweets on Friday, May 4, I wrote about an anonymous commenter to a Nieman Lab story. I identified her and her place of work and shared comments posted from the same account on other websites. By revealing such details without making an effort to contact her and seek confirmation and explanation, and otherwise adhere to rigorous reporting methods, the tweets did not meet Nieman's journalistic standards. I apologize and regret my error in judgment.